484 sophistication which is spreading to the villages. This was not
521 yet very evident in Sivepe, though I shall later quote a few
633 examples, but far more so in Hohorita.

All the Orokaiva, including the people of Sivepe, liked to make occasional visits to Popondetta, even though they had little business there. They saw relatives and exchanged news with people they met around town, especially outside the Steamship Co. shop. News filtered down about the mission, the administration, the coffee factory and various current ideologies were communicated. The Inonda men visited more frequently than the Sivepe men; the women visited less frequently than the men.

609 I had little chance to observe relationships between Orokaiva
619 and Papuans and New Guineans from outside the Northern District, except when these served in some official or mission capacity. The only exception was the workers on European-owned plantations. I observed one incident at Hohorita which seemed to me highly significant. The Sangara plantation, which is very close to Hohorita, employs many Chimbu; bad feeling between plantation workers and villagers had been built up over some time, without any specific major issue of conflict. This culminated in a fight on a major scale. The Hohorita councillor went over to the plantation to make peace; the discussion ended with an invitation to the Chimbu to come to a feast at Hohorita. This feast was a success and was followed by a return feast at the plantation. Thus the Chimbu were placed on the same footing as other groups, at one time hostile, with whom feasting relations had been established, e.g., Sivepe and Togahou. Hohorita people whom I interviewed explained to me that when they quarreled with the Chimbu, they did not really know them, but they were friends now.

Section 6: Contacts With Indigenous Office-Bearers

731 Among the victims of the eruption were 143 Papuan administration servants as well as 27 Papuan constabulary, who died at Higaturu along with the 46 European civil servants stationed there. The Mission was somewhat fortunate that Martyrs' School at Sangara was still closed for the holidays; the pupils and some of the staff had not yet returned. Even so only 11 Papuan mission teachers survived, including the present Bishop of the Northern District Diocese, George Amob, the priest at Sasembata, Fr. Albert McLaren, and the now retired mission teacher at Seva, later at Inonda, Moses Kusuale.

657 At the time of the eruption, a certain number of new roles
177 had already become firmly established among Papuans: member of the
● 647 Royal Papuan Constabulary, Village Constable, Mission Teacher, Medical Orderly, Clerk, Labourer. Post-war government policy aimed at greatly increasing the number and scope of these roles, both by

[177] instituting numerous training programmes for the development of
[657] skills hitherto unknown to Papuans, and by setting up organisations
[647] in which Papuans wield a limited amount of political and administrative responsibility. It suffices, for my present purpose, to enumerate modern roles, performed by Papuans, with which the people of Sivepa came into contact during the year of my field study.

[799] In the church, Papuans now play not only the role of mission teacher, but also of priest (as Fr. Albert McLaren) and Bishop (as the Most Rev. George Ambo). Fr. Albert was the priest of the local parish, while the Bishop paid one visit to the district during the year, namely for the consecration of the church at Duve, a great formal occasion attended by at least 1,000 people, from the whole of the Sasembata district.

[625] Village constables exist no longer, but their place has been taken by the Local Government Council. Two of the councillors were regular visitors at Sivepa; the sanitary inspector appointed by the council, who lived at Garoubi, came even more frequently, while many Sivepa people had occasion, during the year, to visit the Council chambers at Higaturu, where all officials are Papuan, with the exception of one European who acts as Advisory Officer to the Council and also as Magistrate for Native Court cases. Locally we had an officer named "Committee," which meant that he was a member of a committee appointed by the local councillor to enforce council regulations in the villages. Each village has one committee member whose tasks are not unlike those of the village constable, though the concept of the role is rather different, and will be discussed below.

[759] While the only medical role allotted to Papuans at the time of the eruption was that of orderly, nowadays there are Papuan physicians, two of them in the Northern District. One of them is medical officer for the district and the other, a woman, is attached to the hospital at Saiho. An increasing number of Papuans are being trained as Assistant Medical Officer, a five-year course. One of the graduates was attached to the mission hospital and aid post at Sasembata. Aid posts have been established by the government in many Orokaiva villages and manned by aid post orderlies who were trained in the Saiho Aid Post Training School. Inonda village is served by an orderly trained under this scheme (stationed at Hohota, three miles away), but the training scheme has been discontinued in favour of a more efficient scheme. The training of Papuan nurses started in 1958 while nursing aide training has started more recently. In addition to general training, these nurses are given an intensive course in maternal and child health.

[875] The same movement into senior statuses was characteristic of Papuan educational personnel. First, the training given to mission teachers before the eruption was in the main ecclesiastical, while in the Northern District in 1966, 35% had been through at least one year of formal teacher training; a smaller number had obtained a

177 higher certificate after a two-year course, while various teacher
657 training programmes were involving a number of them. Furthermore,
647 the inspector in charge of the school and, after January, 1967, also
[895] the District Inspector of Schools was a Papuan. Thus, in the Church as well as in the Health and Education Department, Papuans were in actual administrative control over Northern District operations, with white personnel nominally their subordinates. The term "nominally" must be applied to the relative rank of Papuan controllers and expatriate subordinates, because the latter are still receiving a very much higher salary. Nonetheless, the new situation definitely sets up a hierarchy, with Papuans at senior levels, and the village people are in official contact with them.

[631] I shall give two further examples of contacts with Papuan public servants. The first was with a clerk sent out by the Department of Lands, whose task it was to organise the establishment of boundaries between the wards. This man was an Orokaiva, from Jegarata, who explained the purpose of the boundaries in the Orokaiva language, at a meeting held in Garombi and supposedly attended by all the villages in the ward. A spirited discussion took place, the people suggested village representatives, the clerk accepted the representatives proposed for Sivepe and Garombi, but was non-committal over the other two, as he saw Isoga and Binduta were [276] insufficiently represented. He chewed betelnut with the people; the whole procedure was matter-of-fact and businesslike, and no covering-up was attempted for the two ill-represented villages. [191] The absence of an interpreter, the use of Orokaiva instead of the lingua franca (Moru), the free use of betelnut, the fact that we all sat on mats together--all this established an easy bridge between government and people.

242 During the same period, a good deal of agricultural extension
177 work was in progress in the nearby village of Sasembata. Here again, the day-to-day instruction was given by two Northern District Papuans, agricultural assistants, in a rather more junior position to the Lands Department clerk. These two young men were definitely supervised by an expatriate officer; they were staying in Sasembata village for awhile and came over to Sivepe one night for a small feast and a dance. Though they were both Aiga, they mixed easily with their Orokaiva agemates, on a basis of equality and familiarity. They were the guests of a third agricultural assistant, who belonged to Sasembata village but were working for the Department at Saiho. This young man gave me a description of the scope of agricultural development (a rubber cooperative) proceeding in Sasembata. He had a mature and responsible understanding of the project.

657 Finally, Papuan government drivers had highly significant
647 though informal contacts with villagers. These men, highly skilled
177 at negotiating the difficult roads of the Northern District, have the task of driving government personnel where they wish to go and often travel unaccompanied by officers to collect personnel or cargo.

657 Employed rather widely over the last decade or so, they have a
647 responsible job, for which the qualifications include a reasonably
177 high standard of education. In Orokaiva eyes, these men enjoy high
status, as they have permanent, relatively highly paid positions
and above all, because they control one of the most coveted European
[499] resources, namely motor transport. They very often have the power
to offer transport to Orokaiva travellers; their favours are
eagerly sought; they carefully choose the men for whom they will
stop on the road: kinsmen, residents of closely related villages,
other men of high status.

Orokaiva accord high status to all Papuan employees of the government and the missions; one of the main reasons why men become, for instance, mission teachers is the high status they thus acquire in the villages where they are posted. This is so in spite of their very low pay; only recently has this low pay begun to deter recruits--due to the greater availability of higher-paid non-manual jobs for
[875] Papuans. Mission teachers at Sasembata still regard themselves as aristocrats, who will speak somewhat deprecatingly of "the village people" and address them with some slight condescension. The best of them are most valuable as educators, not only in the religious sphere, but also through their knowledge of the outside world which they spread through their friendships with congenial villagers in the parish. They will also spread knowledge of elements of the culture of their own district, e.g., dances and songs, which are easily introduced into local repertoires. Most of the Sasembata mission teachers came from the Motu-speaking coastal district. One
[799] problem with the mission stations has been, especially on the larger stations, that they develop into a sort of village of their own, a tight community with a deep conviction of its own superiority, not only because it is a mission village, but also because it is a Motu village and the Motu regard the Orokaiva as barbarians.

All the functionaries discussed so far are directly under the control of Australian institutions--the government and the church. The second category to be considered are Papuans playing roles for which they are elected or appointed by other Papuans. Within this category fall the members and officers of the Higaturu Local Government Council, the directors and manager of the coffee producers' cooperative, the local Member of the House of Assembly. None of these roles existed at the time of the eruption; they were created as part of the Australian policy, inaugurated in the 1950's, of preparing Papuans for at least local self-government and limited management of their own affairs. Though the views expressed by these officials hardly differed from those of the Government and Mission men, the Orokaiva received them much more warmly in their villages. Especially the councillors had to ingratiate themselves, their office being elective, and they handed cigarettes around. They were trusted far more than the government officials because the villagers felt they had some power over them; they were given local information withheld from the others.

Though most of the contacts between village people and the office-bearers arise out of official roles, the local priest, the assistant medical officer in charge of the Sasembata mission hospital, the mission teachers, the council's sanitary officer and others who lived near Sivepe, or temporarily stayed near Sivepe, tended to have at least one or two families with whom they were on mutual visiting terms and who regarded them as personal friends. At the same time, their relationship with many of the other Sivepe families remained definitely formal.

Contacts occurred almost always either in Sivepe or in a village nearby, on the initiative of the office-bearer (if the contact was official). Formal visits by councillors, sanitary inspector, coffee factory officers occurred about once monthly. Contacts with Church personnel occurred almost daily at the mission station, though formal calls by the priest or a teacher to Sivepe were made perhaps once a month, usually in connection with some quarrel that had arisen. The village was most active in its contacts with the mission hospital, several patients presenting themselves daily with minor ailments. Serious cases were often referred to Saiho hospital and most of the referred cases actually went to Saiho. There was a monthly visit from nurses dealing with infant health and expectant mothers; most of the mothers took their babies to be checked and weighed and no objections were made to preventive injections.

There were no cases, in Sivepe, of inter-marriage between local people and Papuans occupying these specialized roles, but in Inonda one man married the mission teacher's daughter. Otherwise, contacts of the type described in this section were sparser in Inonda, as the mission and medical establishment was at Hohota, three miles away, and on a far smaller scale. Inonda did have some direct contact with government over agricultural matters as one man expressed interest in entering an experimental scheme for growing beef cattle. He has adquate land and education, but the scheme had not gone beyond initial discussions by the time I left. Finally, Inonda had an arrangement with a Papuan who was a distant affine and who had a truck with which he took garden produce weekly from Inonda to the Embi hospital. The village people paid this man for his cartage. No comparable arrangement existed in Sivepe. Finally, contact with the officers of the Local Government Council seemed to me less frequent in Inonda than in Sivepe and to generate much less interest. This was no doubt due to rivalries between the village leader and the councillor, but also to a less keen interest in council objectives on the part of the majority of families.

The contacts described in this section, unlike the ones discussed earlier, do not characteristically occur in a kinship context. Hence, the contacts do not necessarily occur equally with all categories of members of the community, but when the problems have to do with land or politics or the conduct of village affairs, the married men are principally concerned; in educational matters

875 Australia, enough of contemporary thought in literature, art and allied
657 subjects and enough general sophistication to fit only with difficulty in the society of missionaries, planters and officials. At the same time he was drawn to these groups because of his feeling that by coming to New Guinea he had joined the "have's" and left the "have-nots" behind. Though his bohemian background made him critical towards the colonial attitude to Papuans, he faced a difficult problem in working out his own. Both his own ambition and his wife's background (closer to the mission norm) predisposed him to avoid identification with the Papuans. On the other hand, when I met him, he still felt a little uneasy at playing the pukka sahib role which was certainly a betrayal of earlier principles. He was beginning to run into some difficulties with Papuans on the mission station and in the villages. During the year of our presence in Sivepe, he found what seemed an excellent solution by being elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government Council.

647 Though membership is open to persons of any ethnic group, it
666 seemed at first as though Orokaiva would not vote for an Australian candidate. After all, they are well aware of the dangers of having their local affairs controlled by foreigners. But as the election
[123] approached, attitudes changed. Quite early, they had asked me to stand, but I excused myself as I would not be staying long enough. A little later, the mission teacher heard that if he offered himself, he would get some support. He went to the villages of his ward on an electioneering tour and defeated the sitting member with a comfortable majority.
[829] The motive of the electors, as I was told, was that this energetic young white man would be a good champion for Sasembata causes in a council which, in pragmatic terms, was still largely dominated by an Australian advisor. Furthermore, Orokaiva were well aware that their own power over the mission teacher had increased considerably since he depended on them for elective office. He and his wife could no longer treat any callers in an offhand fashion, for were they not also voters?

Section 2: Papuans from Other Districts

177 In our discussion of expatriates, we have shown that some kind of identification with Papuan values occurred in many of the most influential; this identification could either be positive, when the expatriate identified himself with the interests of the Orokaiva, or negative, when the expatriate used procedures not acceptable in his country of origin but effective in furthering his own interests in opposition to Orokaiva. For the Papuans, employed as pastors or in similar roles, and therefore resident among a strange tribe, the position was more complicated. Such a Papuan was not principally a mediator between his own indigenous culture and that of his new